

DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA 91125

THE INGLORIOUS REVOLUTION

J. Kent Clark



HUMANITIES WORKING PAPER 22

January 1979

THE INGLORIOUS REVOLUTION

As James II entered the year 1688 he had many reasons to feel secure. He commanded the largest peacetime army ever seen in England, and he was in the process of weeding out officers who refused to support his political program; he had remodeled the courts to suit his wishes, retaining only those judges who held a high reverence for the prerogative and the dispensing power; he had removed the dissidents from Oxford, and his Ecclesiastical Commission had declared them incapable of holding any church position; he had already begun the task of finding compliant sheriffs, justices, and lord lieutenants, and his agents were working on the more complex problem of restructuring town corporations. Inexorably, it seemed, he was gathering all the political power of England into his own hands; and although each fresh encroachment had provoked murmers, none had raised organized protests or actual riots. No group seemed seriously inclined to test his army and his formidable legal machinery. Thus, on December 30, 1687, he was able to write a cool and complacent note to his son-in-law William of Orange. Except for a brief alarm about the Queen's health, he said, England afforded no political news worth mentioning.

Goodwin too had reason to feel secure. Fed daily with infallible revelations, he knew that it was only a matter of time until Queen Mary Beatrice called him to her bed, until the King raised him to eminence, until his rightful powers in the lowlands were established, until he benefited from Cardinal Wolsey's rich gifts, and until the stiff-necked Whartons were weeping at his feet. Meantime, he was irresistible to women, as he knew from both inspiration and observation; he was moving freely about London, conversing with the socially elect and sometimes braving the terrors of Whitehall; he was comparatively solvent, what with the aid of Sir Thomas Travell and some recent help from Lord Wharton; and he was once more preparing to profit from his knowledge of alchemy and deep-sea diving.

And yet neither the King nor Goodwin could feel quite secure enough. For James there remained the problem of the Low Countries and the unwholesome attitude of his daughter Mary and his son-in-law William. In Holland, safely out of reach of the English crown, the presses poured forth seditious propaganda; the English and Scots regiments in the Dutch service were employing officers who had resigned, or had been dismissed, from the forces in England and Ireland; and, worst of all, William and Mary stubbornly insisted upon opposing the King's policies. As apparent heirs to the throne and the natural rallying point for the disaffected, they had declared against the repeal of the Test and the attempt to pack a parliament. Unless they were circumvented by a male heir--unless the Queen

produced a son--they might eventually spoil everything, and unless their power was reduced they might be foolishly tempted to intervene with an army. The immediate threat, faint as it was, could be removed by recalling the regiments in the Dutch service; and as the year began, James started negotiations on this project. The long range threat was in the hands of God, and the proper countermeasure was prayer. Having prescribed public prayers for the safe delivery of the Queen, James, along with his adherents, prayed that the child would be a boy.

For Goodwin there remained a small worry. His internal revelations were always infallible but they were not always clear. Since they sometimes differed only slightly from his normal thoughts, there was a danger, at least theoretical, that he might mistake a revelation for a notion of his own; and in practice it sometimes seemed when the Lord's predictions appeared to fail that he had misheard or misinterpreted his instructions. There was also the slight hazard that he might mistake the crafty voice of the devil for the voice of God. Ever since his experience on the byways between Acton and Turnham Green he had been aware of the danger and done his best to guard against it. Now, as he entered the new year of 1688, he hoped to end it forever.

Accordingly, on New Year's Day, which fell on Sunday, Goodwin went to church and prayed for "an increase of light." For the future, he asked that his revelations should be "both visible and outwardly audible." By this method, he humbly suggested, he could be relieved of all his difficulties. This

blessing, which to Goodwin seemed a logical step in his spiritual progress, his voice did not refuse outright; it proposed, however, that he should wait another year for audible and visible revelations, and as always Goodwin deferred to the Lord's "will and pleasure." In recompense, he was promised that during the ensuing year he should rise "very high."

Whatever the minor troubles of Goodwin and the King, both men began the memorable year 1688 full of plans and confidence. Neither James with his advisors nor Goodwin with his infallible voice dreamed of the revolutions that would reshape their lives. They did not suspect that before the next new year their brightest hopes would be extinguished and their highest powers stripped away--nor that the granting of their prayers would help to ruin them. James had no inkling that he would end December 1688 as an exile in France, never to return to England, and Goodwin received no hint that he would be reduced again to dependency upon the angels and occasional verse revelations. And if on the whole Goodwin would fare rather better than King James--if he would salvage a good deal out of the wreckage and sometimes profit from the new state of affairs--he would never again, even when he became a lord of the admiralty or occupied the chair in the House of Commons, come so close to omniscience and worldly glory as he had come in the latter months of 1687.

Goodwin's grand master plan for 1688, evolved from many internal revelations, called for continuing the war against King James, strengthening his ties with the Queen in spite of

her surrender on the pregnancy issue, persuading Lord Wharton to recognize his worth and pay his debts, seducing a number of eligible women, including his stepmother, and profiting from any treasure Mary could extort from the Cardinal, the keepers of Ratcliff, or the lowlanders. In the meantime, since he could get no money from the Lord directly and since his major projects might require a good deal of time, he developed a contingency plan. He would reactivate his interests in diving and the "raising of ships."

During the preceding summer the attention of the whole nation had been drawn to the wealth that might be recovered from the sea. On June 7, 1687, a ship named the James and Mary arrived in Deal bearing an immense treasure salvaged from a Spanish galleon sunk some forty-five years earlier off Haiti. The share of the Duke of Albemarle, Governor of Jamaica and principal investor in the expedition, was estimated at a half million pounds; several small shareholders had realized fabulous returns on modest investments; and the King's "tenth" of the total had reached about ten thousand pounds. Everyone connected with the project had been enriched "beyond all expectation," and there was still more treasure to be raised from the site. Goodwin, of course, was otherwise engaged during the excitement over the discovery, but by December he was ready to reenter the business in a modest way. He met "a poor, seeming honest man" named Osmond Cooke, who was "both ingenious and capable" in the design of diving equipment, and he engaged Cooke to produce an improved

diving suit ("habit"). By mid-January Cooke had made encouraging progress, and it was evident to Goodwin that if his other projects failed he could make a diving expedition during the summer of 1688, perhaps to the Isle of Jersey, where Osmond Cooke had come from.

Also encouraging was the progress of a man named Johnson, who by God's providence had "lighted upon a true small work" in alchemy. Though Johnson had no previous experience in chemistry, he seemed more reliable than the brilliant but untrustworthy spirits and lowlanders who had disappointed Goodwin before. Content with small but sure gains, Goodwin subsidized Johnson to the best of his slender abilities while he looked about for suitable partners in the hopeful enterprise.

In early January the affairs entrusted to Mary took a dramatic turn for the better. For months, Goodwin had received little help from Mary. Her plan to get her inheritance from her uncle had fallen through, she had been routinely disappointed by the Cardinal, who would not let her use her gifts, and by the spirits at Ratcliff, who would not let her enter, and she had been unable to see King James and arrange to replace Sir Thomas Williams in the royal laboratory. Then on Monday, January 9, she returned to Vere Street after a morning's absence with the exhilarating news that she had finally seen the King. She had waylaid him "below stairs," she said, as he was leaving Whitehall. James, of course, recognized her at once from the old days when as the assistant of Sir Thomas Williams she had been the favorite of Charles II and the Court,

and his first reaction was one of anger. He remembered that she had always been independent, that she seemed to slight him, and that once, on orders from Charles, she had kept him out of the laboratory. In his momentary fit of resentment he was about to stride past her, but she threw herself before him on her knees and "cut his way" so that he was obliged to ask her what she wanted. When she modestly asked for the privilege of the Court, he replied "in a huffing tone" that she had never been denied the Court but that her whimsical and independent way of acting would continue to get her into trouble. Mary's bold answer, that she was always ready to answer any charges brought against her, seemed to bring James to his senses. Seeing he could not "fright" her and apparently remembering that he wanted her services, he told her to see "Tom" Williams, whom he now thought a knave and whose place she was soon to fill. Mary, however, replied that she would not go near the man until he had been actually put out of his laboratory and his official position. James then turned the brief conversation upon Goodwin, remarking that she seemed to be "very great with him" and drawing her candid admission that she knew him "very well." Satisfied with this reply, James "turned all his sour looks into smiles," invited her to talk with him again, and left the palace, "looking often towards her" as he went.

Mary's narrative, told in circumstantial detail, renewed Goodwin's hope that Mary might be useful in bringing him together with the King. Once established at Whitehall, she

might easily arrange a secret meeting if James relented and she might help in the process of softening his spirit. Goodwin would have preferred, of course, to compass his designs without Mary's aid, but the present stalemate in his contest with James made him grateful for her help. He found too that her accounts of her face-to-face encounters with the King were more vivid and satisfying than the more abstract and general accounts he received from his internal voice. He was willing to suspend the King's pains as long as James kept his appointments with her.

During the ensuing month, Mary reported six more conferences with the King. In general these took place before eight in the morning, since James was an early riser, and they were usually brief and hurried, since they were apt to be interrupted by courtiers--once by a priest and the Earl of Feversham, the commander of the King's army. Nevertheless they were always significant. At the first interview James ordered from Mary two of her "rare" plasters for the prevention of miscarriages; he wanted one, he said, for the Queen and one for his daughter Anne Stuart, Princess of Denmark, who was again pregnant. At the second interview, however, when Mary brought the plasters, the King accepted only one, the one for his daughter Anne, thereby tacitly admitting that the Queen was not pregnant at all. (And it later turned out, when Princess Anne miscarried again, that James had failed to deliver the plaster Mary had brought.)

James also expressed an interest in the "white metal,"

indistinguishable from silver, that Mary had made in her days of power; but his chief concern was obviously with Goodwin. Every uninterrupted conversation brought forth a question about Goodwin's whereabouts and actions; and when the King learned, on January 23, that Mary and Goodwin lodged at the same house, he entrusted Mary with a complaint against him. Goodwin, the King said, "had done ill by him" in his famous speech and "had never since come near him" or let himself be seen. Later, on February 3, James amplified his charge: Goodwin, he said, "had used him worst" of anybody, "and being a young man had flown at him like a hawk." Mary turned aside the King's criticism saying that she hoped Goodwin was sorry "if he had done ill," and James, who had earlier suggested that "he could forget and forgive," seemed satisfied. He did not, however, suggest that Goodwin should accompany Mary on her forays to Whitehall, nor did he mention the possibility of seeing Goodwin alone. And as the days of January and February went by, he did not dismiss Sir Thomas Williams from his laboratory or his position as chemical physician to the King.

Concurrently, while Mary took over temporary management of negotiations with the King, she was arranging another coup. For many months, ever since Queen Ursula had proven false in the summer of 1686, Goodwin's attempts to take over his lowland kingdom had been frustrated; and with the occupation of Hounslow by the army during the summer months, the partners had virtually abandoned the place. They had met there only

twice, briefly, during the summer of 1687, the last time on August 22, and they had accomplished nothing. Now, in mid-January 1688, Mary devised a bold plan: Since the lowlanders refused to submit to Goodwin, since the majority supported a pretender, she would make them pay for the privilege; she would induce Cardinal Wolsey and his henchmen--spirits invisible to lowlanders--to steal the most valuable lowland treasures. Besides making the partners immediately wealthy, the plan would drive the lowlanders to despair; they would come to Goodwin, as his voice told him, "with ropes about their necks."

On January 17, then, Goodwin and Mary went to their old inn at Hounslow, taking with them Goodwin's black trunk (marked G. W.) to hold the loot which the Cardinal had promised to steal. And the next night, true to his word, the Cardinal delivered the first installment of lowland treasure, taking pride, as the Lord told Goodwin, in helping the partners and baffling the lowlanders. By the morning of January 19, the small trunk was "very weighty" with gold and jewels to the value of £500,000. The ^{partners}/also consulted the good spirits at the four trees--something they had not done for many months--and found them anxious to hand over their treasure if a way could be found to release them from their oaths to keep it. By the time the partners left for London next day, the Cardinal had assured Mary that they would shortly have everything, including Mary's precious book which Queen Penelope had left among her treasures, and that he would help Goodwin to the

lowland throne.

And then the project hit a snag. Although the Cardinal showed perfectly good faith, though he twice sent trunks to hold the partners' treasure, and though he finally took the trouble to learn Goodwin's exact pedigree--and was properly impressed--he met a check that neither the angels nor Goodwin's voice predicted. When Mary and Goodwin arrived at their inn on February 10, they found the Cardinal and his men frustrated. The lowlanders, cannily deducing what was happening to their treasures, had placed sentinels at every crucial place, with instructions not merely to watch the treasure boxes but to sit on them. Besides posting round-the-clock guards, they had dispatched two men to act as invisible spies on Mary and Goodwin--to lurk in their room at Hounslow and to watch their motions in general. For the time being, since the Cardinal's spirits could not remove corporeal lowland soldiers from boxes, the best the Cardinal could do was to leave an agent to watch the sentinels and take advantage of any lapse in vigilance. And the partners themselves were obliged to guard their conversations closely, and search their rooms carefully, before they discovered a way to get rid of their annoying guests.

Under these conditions Goodwin would have been perfectly content to leave well enough alone; never greedy, he would have gladly opened the trunks on hand and left the problems of getting the rest of the treasure and dispersing the spies for some future time. But Cardinal Wolsey proved stubborn. He was determined, as he told Mary, to get all the treasure

before he allowed the partners to use any of it. And within a week he had devised a strategem, which Mary duly explained to Goodwin. At the beginning of Lent (March 6) and on Easter (April 15), all lowlanders (including sentries) were required to attend religious services. At those times the treasures would be unguarded and the Cardinal's agents could work unhindered. Goodwin could rest assured, then, that the great project would be completed by Easter, at the latest.

And so in mid-February, through no fault of her own, Mary's attempt to score a financial coup and to reassert her value to the partnership came to a temporary halt. She was equally unlucky in her dealing with King James. After the interview of February 3, James again fell into his pattern of breaking his appointments and finding excuses for not seeing her. Though his pains were renewed, it soon became obvious (as Goodwin's voice said) that there was "no justice nor honesty" left in him and that he would never meet her again.

The temporary failure of Mary's plans was not shattering to Goodwin, even though his voice had approved her actions. The affair of the lowlands, he knew, could be completed as rescheduled, and the King could be recalled to reason by other methods. Nor did Mary's flurry of activity and her leadership in the new projects change Goodwin's perception of her fate. For all her recent endeavors, her days with the partnership were drawing toward an end. Ever since January 2, when she had conceived for the twenty-eighth time, Goodwin had been informed that each conception might be her last, and he had more than

once resolved to give up lying with her. He had been obliged to change his mind when she came voluntarily to his bed, but he was certain by the time she conceived number thirty-seven, on February 13, that she would not conceive many more. By mid-January, he observed, she was already as large as she had been at the time of her last delivery.

The thought of parting with Mary, either by death or alienation, was made easier by her occasional fits of temper. She became "ill with fretting" when his lateness made them miss the coach to Hounslow and forced them to go by water as far as Brentford; she gave him "some hasty words in passion" when in obedience to his internal voice he insisted upon leaving Hounslow before she was ready to go; and once, having "fallen into a fret," she remained snappish and sulky for hours. On this occasion after she had exhausted herself and sunken into a sleep that resembled "an apoplexy," the Lord told Goodwin that she had "little more to do" and that if he wished for her death she should now "sleep her last." Goodwin, of course, could not consent to an immediate execution. He hoped, as he told his voice, that she might live to see a happy conclusion to their troubles; but he also hoped, and believed, that the happy conclusion was not far distant.

Goodwin needed no revelation to tell him that as long as Mary lived she was a clog and menace to his adventures with women. He was glad, therefore, that George Whitmore remained on detached service with the spirit of Queen Ursula in Italy, where he could not watch Goodwin's actions, and that the angels,

whom Mary consulted frequently at church, chose to say nothing about love affairs. Even without active opposition from Mary, his progress with the ladies assigned to him had been slow.

He had officially forgiven Mary Beatrice for her public acquiescence in the pregnancy fraud, and she had been grateful--so grateful indeed that for a time it appeared that she would arrange the meeting that Goodwin had despaired of arranging for himself. A masquerade ball was scheduled at Whitehall for Monday, January 16, and on the preceding Saturday she sent him word by way of Phocas and his voice that she would dress herself "in blue" and meet him there. On the morning of the event, however, Goodwin learned that the King, suspecting the Queen's design and knowing that Goodwin could never appear unmasked at a Court function, had changed the affair from a "masque" to an ordinary ball, thus foiling the plan. At about the same time, Mary Beatrice moved into her splendid new apartments, directly below the lodgings of Kathrine Fraser, in the new wing of Whitehall. Glad to be "so near" Goodwin, who had been visiting Kathrine every week or so, she considered the possibility of coming up to Kathrine's apartment while he was there. But before she could muster enough resolution, Goodwin began having trouble finding Kathrine at home, and after two or three fruitless visits he let the matter rest.

In late January, "after a long absence and much coldness," Goodwin called on Lady Ivy to see whether she was yet in a mood to yield; he found, however, that she remained obstinate, despite the weakness of her arguments. Cecilia Gay also remained

unseduced. After his first bungled attempt to lie with her, he had neglected her for a time, and when he had begun seeing her again, sometimes at her lodgings and sometimes abroad, he felt obliged to use restraint, like the serious wooer of a young gentlewoman. In mid-February she began talking of a match that had been proposed for her, and Goodwin, who was careful to promise nothing, feared that she expected him to propose marriage himself and that she would not make love out of wedlock.

While Goodwin proceeded cautiously with Mistress Gay, his voice promised him compensation with one Mrs. Strode, the young wife of an elderly gentleman who lived "a little out of town." There would be no problem with a mixture of seeds, his voice explained, since Mr. Strode, clearly sterile, had never been able to produce children with his former wives. When Goodwin paid his first visit to Mrs. Strode, his voice forbade him to attempt lying with her, though her husband was away, but it did allow him to rise and kiss her before he left-- a successful maneuver that promised well for the future.

About Lady Wharton Goodwin's instructions were a good deal more complex; they continued to oscillate between commands to seduce her and counter-orders to save her soul. During early 1688, when Lady Wharton seemed especially cold toward Goodwin, the orders to ruin her became more frequent and more persuasive, and on February 11 he received a peremptory command that he must resume his attempts, and a threat that he would be utterly damned if he refused to lie with her. As he was pondering

this order and the apparent enormity involved, his voice reminded him that divine justice differed from human moral conventions. "Thou shalt seem to do much evil," it said, "but 'tis not so."

Only a week later, on February 18, Goodwin received a sharp jolt on the subject of human morals and divine revelation, an admonitory tremor that preceded something very like an earthquake. On that date Mary fell into "a violent passion" because she noticed that a spot had broken out on her shoulder--a sign, she concluded, of the pox. At once she accused Goodwin of having lain with another woman and bringing home an infection; she had noticed, she said, that for some time he had felt "hotter than ordinary." Though Goodwin had noticed no symptoms himself since the affair with Mrs. Wilder three years before, he knew that he had indeed lain with another woman in recent months--the landlady in Bath--and that if Mary cross-examined the angels she could probably find out the truth for herself. Goodwin, therefore, admitted the affair at Bath but denied the physical and moral consequences; he was not poxed, he said in effect (knowing that his voice would certainly have told him so if he were), and he had done no wrong. He had asked and received the Lord's permission to lie with the woman.

Mary remained violently unconvinced. The Lord, she said, had suffered him to be misled in the matter because he had conceived a sinful desire for his landlady; the angels had warned her of some such deception and told her that he was to

blame. She had noticed, furthermore, that it was since his return from Bath that his temperature had increased. Suspecting his infidelity, she had laid aside the eagle stone that prevented her from miscarrying.

In spite of the absurdity of her allegations, which seemed to impugn the infallibility of his voice, Goodwin found that her "positiveness" began to "stagger" his thoughts, especially when she returned from another consultation with the angels at church and reaffirmed everything she had said before. He also found it disconcerting to be obliged, in his own defense, to reveal more than he cared to about the workings of his inward voice. Nevertheless, he "stood stiff" to his vindication, conceding nothing, and after Mary subsided into a melancholy silence, his voice furnished him an explanation of Mary's (and the angels') strange mistake. The whole episode, besides serving as Goodwin's "greatest trial," had been designed to bring about the final break between him and Mary and to make her miscarry of her thirty-seven children, which she could not possibly carry for the full term. For this reason Mary had been made to fancy herself poxed, and him hotter, and the angels had been impelled to bring false moral charges against him. In due time, he was to explain all this to Mary.

Fortunately, Mary had not challenged the general validity of his internal revelations; she had merely accused him of misinterpreting one of them. For months he had allowed her small glimpses of his new powers; he had explained, in

unincriminating terms, the fact that the Lord sometimes spoke within him, and he had shared with her some of his plans for rising to power through King James (but not his plans for seducing the Queen). Mary seemed to agree that his voices were genuine, and she had not complained at being relieved of several heavy responsibilities: summoning Ahab to interpret visions, bringing messages from the archangels, and praying for the audible, rhyming revelations that had once guided Goodwin's life. And now, as her wrath cooled, she not only acknowledged his inward voice but claimed credit for it; through her prayers, she said, he had been granted the inestimable gift. She was ready, she added, to go to church and pray that God would reveal himself to Goodwin "by the outward ear and visible form"--thus ending at a stroke all ambiguity and argument. This offer Goodwin accepted, and when Mary returned from church, she reported that her prayer had been granted, as his voice had predicted it would be. By evening, then, order had been restored, at least temporarily; Mary was willing to come to bed with him; and before morning she had conceived of her thirty-eighth child.

For several days, while Goodwin waited for the definitive revelation and conducted other important business, the unresolved controversy simmered. Though greatly afflicted by Mary's "strange positiveness" and her reports, from the angels at church, that he had abused his divine inspiration, and though uneasily aware that Satan was sometimes allowed to "contradict" the Lord's original whisperings, Goodwin quickly regained his

momentarily shaken confidence. His voice repeated what it had told him before--that "this business" was to make Mary miscarry and induce her to leave him--and since the explanation seemed perfectly adequate, he could not really believe, what he sometimes suspected, that there was some further "mystery" in the affair. As his assurance grew, he gradually "told her a great deal of the design," including the fact that she might not live much longer; he even ventured to hint that he "might be permitted to have several women." And after lying with her again, on February 22, he frankly informed her that the resulting conception (her thirty-ninth) would be her last.

Meantime, Mary, arguing less than usual, seemed to be coming to some quiet resolutions of her own, and on Saturday night, February 25, after refusing to come to Goodwin's bed, she announced her decisions. She did not believe for a moment, she said in effect, that Goodwin had been authorized to lie with his landlady nor that she herself was soon to die; the angels had pronounced him "guilty" and promised that "she should live yet many years." Since, however, he seemed to insist upon having another woman (or other women), she had resolved never to go to bed with him again and had "farther resolved to marry another man who now wooed her." After she had delivered her present children and done Goodwin what service she could, she would leave him.

A trifle stunned by the news and not at all enthusiastic about Mary's marriage plans, Goodwin debated the matter with her far into the night. It was not until the next morning that

he saw the folly of arguing against the obvious solution to his own problems. Mary's plan, his voice told him, "would do well" and her marriage would be permitted. And when he renewed the argument anyway, in spite of the Lord's words and his own best judgment, the Lord chided him for undoing all the good work that had been done for him. Living apart from Goodwin, the Lord said, and marrying "this sober old rich man" were the only things that would "quiet" Mary and give Goodwin the liberty he craved. By Sunday evening, then, Goodwin had accepted the new arrangement. He gave Mary "all freedom whatever, even to marry if God allowed her"; he promised to stay away from her bed unless specifically invited; and he admonished her not to be jealous any more or "trouble herself" about his love affairs. Feeling at once liberated and magnanimous, he was now ready to begin a life vastly different from the one he had led for the past five years.

Before he was "well awake" the next morning, Goodwin heard the Lord's voice, "articulately" from beyond the door, as he had heard it in the days before his inward voice had superseded oral revelations. At first he could not understand a word it said; but after an interval it began again, delivering three or four lines of verse from which he gleaned the astonishing gist: His affair at Bath had been "a sin" and "Satan's temptation." Then as he lay in his bed, "extremely troubled" and "full of doubtful thoughts," the Lord's voice spoke for the third time. Again the message sounded garbled,

but one thing Goodwin understood clearly enough: He was not to part from Mary. "She is thy wife," the Lord said; "keep her still."

As Goodwin tried to absorb the effects of the frightful shock, his first thought was to ask Ahab for a complete reading of the Lord's half-intelligible revelations. But Ahab, upon being summoned by Mary, refused to help. Since he could not speak to Goodwin directly and since Mary was not to know the full contents of the revelations, he would leave Goodwin (as he explained to Mary) to his own resources. And as Goodwin revolved the matter, he saw that he was beyond rescue by textual niceties and that he must face a staggering uncertainty about the counsels of his inward voice, particularly as they dealt with women--an uncertainty that threatened to paralyze all his actions. He also saw, as he wrote in his journal, that the Bath episode was crucial.

For to have that which I took to be the Lord's wonderful orders and providence to me (of which I saw all the foregoing reasons as well as the consequent circumstances exactly agree, as I had done in all other matters, and had in my integrity accordingly acted myself)--that this should be called in question, and by the Lord in another manner called a sin, puts me into a strange pause.

While Goodwin reeled under the blow, trying to understand the mistake and assess the permanent damage, he performed the one task immediately commanded by the Lord's voice; he made up his differences with Mary. Mary, he found to his relief, was glad to make peace; her heart had changed "on a sudden" from its recent unkindness. And she reported after returning from church the next day that the angels had expressed more

joy and satisfaction at the reconciliation than they had ever expressed before.

To further protect himself against ignorant errors Goodwin adopted a tentative policy for dealing with his inward voice, which continued to give him directions as it had done before. If its counsel seemed to conflict with the laws of the gospel, as it had sometimes done in the past, he would delay action until he received clarification, either through an oral revelation or through some other undoubtable sign that he was not being deceived by the tempter. Meantime he would pray himself and ask Mary to pray for more and clearer audible communications from the Lord.

On Sunday, March 4, Goodwin's burdens were somewhat lightened when he received a second series of oral revelations which defined more precisely the nature of his error at Bath.

Hesekia, my son [the Lord said], I wonder thou dost lay to me
The giving of that woman to thee,
So often as I did say the contrary.
I never did give a Harlot to thee. [Here the Lord paused.]
I never did give one to thee
But what is of thy degree.

Goodwin, who understood the first two lines in substance and the last four verbatim, grasped the fundamental point at once. Harlots, obviously, were forbidden, in spite of some dubious Biblical texts to the contrary; and not suspecting his landlady, who had not mentioned money, to be a "common" prostitute, he had ignorantly and perhaps culpably considered himself free to lie with her. Now enlightened, he asked the Lord to pardon him insofar as he had (ignorantly) sinned, and his inward voice replied that he was forgiven. For the future,

he reasoned, it only remained to avoid harlots and to confine his attentions to women of his own "degree"--though he had not yet received a precise and satisfactory definition of the term harlot nor a clear idea of what women had attained his degree.

Though theoretically cleared of his single, pardonable mistake, Goodwin remained shaken, even after the spot on Mary's shoulder cleared up without complications and Mary promised not to nag him about the incident at Bath. It was not easy, he found, to restore the pure confidence he had once placed in his voice; he felt more and more obliged to rely upon external revelations, which came seldom, seemed difficult to understand, and sometimes repeated words like harlot and adultery. On March 9, after he had failed to receive an oral message on his thirty-fifth birthday, he noted gloomily that his "uncertainties and troubles" were increasing daily and that the Lord seemed to be withdrawing his favors.

One of Goodwin's troubles arose from the treachery of Osmond Cooke, his inventive assistant in the deep-sea-diving business. In late January Cooke absented himself from Goodwin's service, taking with him the designs he had made for improved equipment; and in early March Goodwin learned that, far from intending to return, Cooke had leagued himself with Mistress Parcely (whom Goodwin had once tried to seduce) in a plan to cut Goodwin out of all future operations. Parcely had introduced Cooke to Lady Ivy, as she had earlier introduced Goodwin, and helped him obtain Lady Ivy's financial backing in his

attempt to patent the equipment himself and organize his own diving expedition. It appeared, when Goodwin first heard of the conspiracy, that the plan was on the verge of success. Cooke and his allies not only seemed likely to get the patent, if they had not done so already, but they were also gaining favor with King James, whose permission was necessary before any treasure retrieval could be attempted. Goodwin understood that James would grant them permission to proceed and that he had promised to "stop" any attempt by Goodwin to search for sunken treasure.

Faced with the treachery of Cooke, Parcely, Lady Ivy, and the King, Goodwin realized that the key to the problem lay with James. Whether or not he had instigated the plot himself (and Goodwin's voice suggested that he had), the King had the ultimate power to grant patents and permissions. It was essential then that Goodwin should approach him, either directly or through emissaries, and persuade him to recognize Goodwin's rightful claims to the patents he had financed and to block the schemes of Goodwin's ex-friends. Goodwin also realized that for the purpose of approaching the King, spiritual agents, like Phocas, would be inadequate. Since James had so many times proved himself impervious to spiritual and moral considerations, the only hope of changing his mind lay with persuasive mortals who might wield some social or political influence. Finally, Goodwin saw clearly enough that James remained prejudiced against him, in spite of all the promises made and all the pains and penalties inflicted. Jealous and stubborn, he had

shaken off Mary and plotted against Goodwin himself. And although the Lord sometimes suggested, by internal revelation, that James had stirred up the present crisis to bring about a face-to-face parley, Goodwin did not think it wise to ask for a personal interview.

Before Goodwin could deal with the King, he was obliged to face a serious secondary problem that arose from the intrigues of his enemies. Mistress Parcely, in order to justify her treachery towards Goodwin and Mary, began to "rail" against them in public. Having once lived in the same house with them, she had no trouble inventing malicious stories about them for the benefit of Lady Ivy and others. Among the "forty abominable lies" that she spread about the partners she was able to mix one truth: Goodwin, she said, had tried to seduce her. Inevitably this statement reached Mary's ears, and when Goodwin could not deny it, Mary was furious. She was more furious still when he alleged, truthfully, that at the time, he supposed he had the Lord's permission. From church she brought home a statement by the angels that the Lord was disgusted with his excuses--his attempts to make God responsible for his crimes.

Oral revelations confirmed Mary's view. Goodwin learned that the Lord was indeed "grievously" angry, that his own recent suffering had been caused by his sexual sins, and that he could expect no relief before Easter. He was reminded, in a particularly significant revelation, that he was to have no women except those of his own "degree" and he was accused of

having "intended harlots more than three." Compared with the cataclysm of late February, these revelations came as mere after-shocks, and he accepted the reprimands meekly. Now that he grasped the moral distinction between harlots and honest gentlewomen, his fundamental error was obvious; he had carelessly allowed the devil to mislead him whenever he had fancied someone of questionable morals. And it was equally obvious that although he had been allowed to yield to one whore, at Bath, the Lord had saved him from at least three others, including Parcely (whom he had suspected of being poxed), a groom's wife at Wooburn, and the wife of a poor man at Covent Garden. Duly grateful for the Lord's mercy, Goodwin apologized once more for his careless mistakes and was once more forgiven. Mary too forgave him gladly when she saw him contrite; she was so happy, in fact, about the fresh reconciliation that in "an excess of joy" she conceived of her fortieth child--something that the Lord himself, according to Goodwin's internal voice, had earlier thought impossible. She was now ready to join Goodwin in combatting the slanders of Parcely, endeavoring to detach Lady Ivy from her disreputable allies, and carrying on the campaign to influence King James.

Mary seconded Goodwin's general strategy of sending emissaries to the King, and she entreated the help of the angels and the Lord in its support. In late March Goodwin began receiving oral revelations on the subject, revelations which advised him "to make all the friends that may be" and

directed him to solicit aid from his friend Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. They also suggested a line of attack which he had hardly dared think of for himself. Though he was not obliged to solicit a formal audience with King James, he must begin putting himself in the King's way, appearing where James would be forced to take notice of him and where it would be easy for James to speak informally if he was so inclined. By a combination of advocates and personal appearances, Goodwin's revelations said in effect, he could induce the King to recognize his just claims and perhaps fulfill the earlier promises of wealth and power.

On March 24 Goodwin made his first serious attempt to reach James through a prestigious intermediary; as directed by the Lord, he went to seek the help of the Earl of Pembroke. In 1680, before Pembroke acceded to the title, Goodwin had served with him in the House of Commons, and recently the two men had become friends through their mutual interest in chemistry and alchemy. After the first small but exciting discoveries by Johnson, Goodwin had put the Earl "in hopes of a secret" in alchemy, and he had even considered him as a possible replacement for Sir Thomas Travell, who continued to be distressingly slow in reading the precious journal. Now, however, as Goodwin outlined his problems with diving patents and his need for an intermediary, Pembroke did not volunteer to speak with the King or to deliver a "submissive" letter that Goodwin planned to write. Observing his friend's reluctance and fearing an outright refusal, Goodwin could not

bring himself to make a point-blank request for aid. He went instead to see Lord Wharton. The angels had suggested that Lord Wharton, who obviously had the power to speak with the King, might be persuaded to do so. But Goodwin found his father in a discouraging mood; he not only declined to see the King but tried to dissuade Goodwin from proceeding further.

After his first repulse, Goodwin's oral revelations advised him to "go softly" for a time, and it was not until April 9 that he renewed his solicitations. Again he found his father opposed to the whole venture; Lord Wharton refused to speak himself; he did not know anyone who would help; and he did not like the letter that Goodwin had composed. Lord Pembroke too, whom Goodwin saw on the following day, declined to serve. Professing to believe intermediaries unnecessary, he advised Goodwin to request an audience and deliver his letter personally to the King. Twice rebuffed, Goodwin was compelled, on the advice of the Lord's articulate voice, to take the step he had tried to avoid; he went to Whitehall to seek help from courtiers.

He first approached his old acquaintance the Countess of Peterborough hoping that she would undertake the diplomatic mission herself. She advised him, however, to go through the "proper" officers of the Court, preferably the Earl of Sunderland, but possibly Lord Churchill, Father Petre, or the Earl of Arran. If approached "frankly," she said, any of these gentlemen could manage his case or introduce him to the King. Goodwin chose James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, as perhaps the least

formidable and certainly the youngest of the King's henchmen, and although he was not personally acquainted with the Earl, five years his junior, he managed to obtain an interview. It soon appeared that he had chosen badly. Arran, who knew Goodwin by reputation, put him through "a long, sifting discourse" on the subject of political loyalties and parliamentary speeches, at the end of which he asked for a pound of Goodwin's flesh. He would speak for Goodwin, he said, if he could tell James that Goodwin had apologized for his earlier opposition and that he was now willing to support the crown in abolishing the Test Act.

Before the Earl had finished talking, Goodwin's internal voice put an end to any possible bargaining. "No, no, no," it said--as if to warn him against even seeming to consent to such odious terms. Goodwin scarcely needed the warning. He had long since decided, with the Lord's approval, never to ask pardon for his speech, and he was not tempted to betray the nation, in the matter of the Test Act, for the sake of a diving patent. Brushing off Arran's proposal as if he had not heard it, he turned the conversation back to the justice of his own claims and then took his leave. And as he retreated from Whitehall, brooding about Arran's attempt to put pressure on him, his voice advised him that the Earl of Sunderland "would be worse."

Acting on the Lord's orders, delivered in oral revelations, Goodwin made two more attempts to find friendly agents at Whitehall. On April 11, he tried to see the Countess of

Peterborough once more, and when she was not at home, he tried to see Kathrine Fraser, hoping that she might exert some influence with Lord Godolphin. But the bad luck that in recent weeks had prevented him from meeting Kathrine Fraser continued now, and he was forced to content himself with touring the Whitehall galleries, where his internal voice told him he should let himself be seen. On the following afternoon, returning to Whitehall for his second attempt, he found the Countess at home but still unwilling to speak with the King in his behalf. When he recounted his failures with his father, Pembroke, and Arran and complained that no man would act for him, she could only suggest again that he try Sunderland (something the Lord had already declared useless) or that he ask one of his own brothers to help him (something he would not dream of doing). Even as the Countess was "excusing herself" Goodwin perceived that he had reached a dead end in his present efforts to find an advocate. For the time being he would relax his search and wait for the Lord to provide a suitable person. Meantime, he would continue his campaign, already well begun, to appear in the King's presence.

For Goodwin to come near King James, after all that had passed between them, required considerable nerve. It was one thing, Goodwin found, to observe James from the window of a second-floor room at Bath or from a window of Cecilia Gay's lodging in the City and quite another thing to meet him face to face. In late February when Goodwin and Sir Thomas Travell

had inadvertently met the King in the Mall, as James and his party were returning on horseback from a military review at Hyde Park, Goodwin had stepped back into the crowd and "partly avoided" seeing him. And he was not a little anxious when an oral revelation of March 25 commanded him to walk where he might see the King--a command which meant that he must haunt St. James's Park, and particularly the Mall, where James sometimes walked with his courtiers.

For a few days Goodwin was reprieved by bad weather, which made walking in the Park impossible, but on March 31, "after being blooded," he set out along the Mall on his first patrol. He had not yet reached the west end of the Park when he observed that James had emerged from Whitehall and led his companions into the Mall. Had Goodwin been more eager to face James, he would have turned around at once and hurried back along the Mall to meet the royal party. As it was, he continued to walk westward while he calmed his nerves, and it was not until he came to the end of the Mall that he turned back, "resolved" within himself to do his duty. By then he was too late. The King and his party, obviously influenced by the windy weather, walked only a short distance along the Mall and then retraced their steps towards Whitehall.

On his next assignment, Tuesday, April 3, Goodwin came much closer. Again he was near the west end of the Mall when James came out, but this time he returned at once, resolving that he would not merely stand on the sidewalk to watch James go by but meet him squarely in the middle of the Mall.

Unfortunately, the King turned back when Goodwin "came within forty yards or thereabouts" and Goodwin, who could not decently run after him or follow him into Whitehall, was forced to wait for another occasion.

Goodwin's occasion came the next morning about eleven o'clock, when James and his party walked the complete length of the Mall. Goodwin, who had already made his turn at the west end, had plenty of time to brace himself for the meeting as the King approached, and he was pleased to note that his fear of meeting the King "full butt" in the Mall decreased as the crucial moment arrived; his spirits became relatively "calm and settled" when James actually passed by. Unfortunately, James also had time to prepare himself; and having seen Goodwin at a distance, he contrived to be looking the other way as they passed each other--as if he had not noticed Goodwin at all. By this crafty, and cowardly, maneuver James frustrated Goodwin's attempt to "fix" him with his eyes. In revenge, Goodwin "passed by with as slender a bow as possible"--a slight fully approved by the Lord, who by internal revelation later explained that the King had been more nervous than Goodwin and that he had been severely reproved, by way of Phocas, for "looking off."

For a time after Goodwin completed this first mission he was excused from walking in the Park because the King's mind had been hardened against him through the slanders of his rivals in the diving business. By April 23, however, the Lord had removed most of the rancor from James's heart and even

inclined James to speak with Goodwin; and by oral revelation Goodwin was instructed to see "the King's face"--a task he promptly fulfilled. On this occasion, Goodwin was prevented by the large entourage surrounding the King from getting close enough to be recognized, much less spoken to, and he readily acquitted James of any intention to slight him. But on the morning of April 25, he found James's actions more puzzling. This time, in spite of the "great company" and the royal guards, Goodwin approached "so near" that James was compelled to look "full upon" him at close range. The King did not speak, however, or grant Goodwin any other sign of recognition. As Goodwin made a "decent," respectful bow, James "passed by without stirring his hat."

At the time, Goodwin was under the impression that James expected him to take another turn in the Park and meet him again--something that he declined to do, since he had already endured "sufficient staring" from the royal companions and since he wanted to teach James a lesson. But he later learned from the angels, via Mary, that as he had approached the King, a halo had appeared over his head, visible to the King alone, and that James had probably been too awe-stricken to perform the customary courtesies. Meanwhile, on the afternoon of April 25, after his encounter in the Park, Goodwin was assigned to go to the Theatre Royal at Drury Lane, where James was scheduled to attend a performance of John Crowne's play Darius, King of Persia.

Accustomed by now to appearing before the King, Goodwin

sat in James's sight throughout the performance without undue anxiety. He could perceive "no rancor" in the King's face nor any sign that the King was deliberately avoiding his gaze. Once, indeed, when Sir Thomas Travell came in and sat behind Goodwin, James seemed to "blush all over" and momentarily hide his face; but in general his demeanor seemed natural enough. When his gaze met Goodwin's, as it frequently did, he let it pause briefly and then looked "gently" away.

Though James's conduct was pronounced satisfactory by the Lord, it was clear that he needed time to think over what he had seen and that his heart needed further softening before Goodwin pressed his advantage. For about three weeks Goodwin was obliged to wait while the royal moods, always changeable, alternately chilled and thawed, and while James took time out to inspect his naval defenses at Chatham. He did not see James again until May 14, when he attended Thomas Shadwell's "new play" The Squire of Alsatia at Drury Lane.

On this occasion Goodwin did not sit where he could face the King, as he had done previously; he sat directly in front of James and his party, which included the Prince and Princess of Denmark and the Earl of Arran. It was beneath his dignity, of course, to turn around and stare at James or pay him any other special attention; it was enough to establish his own nonchalance. In the intervals between the acts, he stood up boldly "just before" James's face, where he could not fail to be seen by the King, the King's friends (including Colonel Legge), his own friends, and the many spectators who wished to

see the royal party, and where everyone could observe that he made the King "no bow." Very seldom did he so much as glance toward James, and on the one occasion when their glances met, the King quickly looked away. Goodwin did, however, exchange one significant glance with Princess Anne (later Queen Anne), who gave the first sign of what turned out to be a growing passion.

Before Goodwin could see King James again, a new development in his affairs altered his basic strategy. In late April, Lady Ivy had experienced a change of heart and begun to undo the damage that her treachery had caused; and by mid-May she had herself taken over the task of finding an advocate for Goodwin. Her success in this enterprise made Goodwin's personal appearances before the King unnecessary.

As Goodwin understood the unexpected transformation, Lady Ivy had become disillusioned with Cooke and Parcely and with the endless contests over patent rights. At any rate, she wrote Goodwin a conciliatory letter on April 17 suggesting that they should make up any differences and pool their resources for a joint venture in the diving business. In response to this overture, Mary took the first step in restoring the old alliance. Going to Lady Ivy's house, she vindicated herself and Goodwin against the lies that Parcely had told about them. She was so persuasive in her arguments, which she conducted "to Parcely's face," that Lady Ivy not only promised to do Goodwin "right" but turned away the treacherous Parcely after compelling her to make a written retraction of

some of her calumnies (including the charge that Goodwin had intended to rape her).

Although Goodwin remained wary of Lady Ivy's good faith and although the Lord declared in oral revelations that she had been "a great slut," the reconciliation proceeded apace. Lady Ivy produced a plausible explanation for her misbehavior in the Cooke affair. She had been unaware, she said, that Cooke had carried off any of Goodwin's equipment or that he had been pledged to Goodwin's service. She would make amends by persuading Cooke, who was undoubtedly talented, to return to Goodwin under bond, and by giving Goodwin a share in a small venture suggested by Cooke as a supplement to the main diving expedition. More importantly, she would help to finance the salvage operations and aid Goodwin in securing the necessary permissions.

By May 1, affairs had moved so briskly that Cooke was under a bond of £100,000 not to desert Goodwin again, and the angels were advising Mary that Goodwin should actually marry Lady Ivy. If he did so, Mary was informed, Lady Ivy would die within a fortnight and he would inherit all of her vast estate. Mary seemed undismayed by the prospect of sharing Goodwin with Lady Ivy, but Goodwin found the new advice puzzling. His inner voice had promised him many times that he could seduce Lady Ivy and have her estate without a wedding; and once in late January when the angels, through Mary, had advised marriage, his voice had vetoed the suggestion. The joy of a marriage to Goodwin, the Lord had said, would lengthen

Lady Ivy's life, not shorten it. Now in early May, Goodwin remained unenthusiastic about marrying Lady Ivy, but this time his internal voice did not come to his rescue. It could only promise him that the marriage would not become publicly known. Fortunately, neither the angels nor the Lord's audible voice recommended haste. For the present, he was to see Lady Ivy often and pretend all possible love, but he was to make no proposal of marriage without further orders.

Obeying these instructions, Goodwin visited Lady Ivy every day, consulting about strategy and removing the last traces of ill will. As evidence of his good faith, he offered to share with her his inventions in diving equipment--an offer which she took "very kindly." For her own part, Lady Ivy began to search among her powerful acquaintances for an intermediary who could influence the King and forward the interests of the new partnership. On May 19, having made her choice, she sent Goodwin to meet William Penn, "the great Quaker."

With the possible exception of Sunderland or Petre, Goodwin could not have found a more influential advocate than the man he called "Will Penn." Though not an official member of the King's government, Penn had been James's personal friend since the early 1670's, and in recent months he had been a prime agent and spokesman for the King's new policies; he had been in effect, though not in name, the King's ambassador to the nonconformists. A passionate believer in liberty of conscience, he had helped to construct and defend the King's celebrated Declaration of Indulgence; he had solicited

addresses of thanks from dissenting congregations and tried to convince Englishmen in general, and dissenters in particular, that James was to be trusted. In the propaganda war he had performed creditably against the witty and persuasive Marquis of Halifax, whose Letter to a Dissenter had gravely damaged the King's cause; and on the diplomatic front he had undertaken a vital but impossible mission aimed at persuading the Prince of Orange to support the repeal of the Test Act. Naturally, his efforts on the King's behalf had made him a great many enemies, who regarded him as a credulous fool or a Judas goat, but he persevered nevertheless. At the time he met Goodwin he was continuing his campaign to make friends for the King and to help assure the election of a compliant parliament.

Goodwin found Penn friendly and helpful. After listening to Goodwin's explanation of the case, he agreed to present it "very soon" to the King along with Goodwin's offer to allow the King "what share he pleased" in the diving expedition. Unlike the Earl of Arran, he did not try to extract any promise from Goodwin, and if he was at all worried about Goodwin's reputation as a political dissident, he did not say so. Goodwin left the interview with confidence that his problems were virtually solved--a confidence verified by an oral revelation which said that the King was "well appeased."

A week later, on Saturday, May 26, Penn took Goodwin to Whitehall, where he planned to present him and his business to James "if opportunity served." On this occasion, Penn applied a modest amount of political pressure. He hoped, he said,

that he could present Goodwin as one who approved of the King's "designs as to the public." But when Goodwin made it clear that he did not approve of the King's designs and that he would not be introduced under false pretences ("on a wrong bottom"), Penn did not insist. Having agreed to handle Goodwin's case, he would continue with it regardless of its personal and political liabilities.

As matters turned out, Penn could not get an interview with the King on May 26, and for a month thereafter Penn was too busy with affairs of state to mention Goodwin's concerns to the King. During this interval, James was committing the series of blunders that were to cost him his crown, and Goodwin was making the most dramatic mistake of his life. James, under the curious delusion that he was bringing the Church of England to heel, was instituting the prosecution of seven Anglican Bishops; and Goodwin, in the mistaken belief that he had God's approval, was at last making love to Mistress Cecilia Gay.

Goodwin's mistake arose from his uncertainty about the meaning of the word degree and from Mary's advice, relayed from the Lord and the angels, that he should marry Lady Ivy. Ever since the traumatic reversals of late February and early March, he had been very cautious about all women. Though God's oral revelations, carefully written down, seemed to allow women of his own degree, he did not want to make another mistake; and he did not dare ask Ahab for an interpretation of degree, since he could speak to Ahab only through Mary, who

was apt to grow nervous and excitable at the mere mention of other women. Through March and April, he remained so wary that he refrained from making serious advances towards Mistress Mary Howard, the beautiful daughter of Lord Howard of Escrick, even though it seemed ridiculous to suppose that she was not his equal; and he strove manfully to keep Cecilia Gay, whose gentility seemed unexceptionable, at an unincriminating distance.

During this interval, Goodwin received some help from Queen Mary Beatrice, whose jealousy of Mistress Gay, as reported by his voice, gave him an additional reason for caution; and he was given a respite when Mistress Gay left town for a short time. But he found it increasingly difficult to control himself as he observed her growing interest in him; he was obliged to invent little quarrels and to pretend a coolness that he did not feel. And although he congratulated himself upon his unequalled self-command and his perfect resignation to God's will, his doubts and frustrations gave him constant trouble. Then, in early May, Mary brought home the Lord's message about Lady Ivy--a message which cast a new light on the classification of women. Since the Lord advised him to marry Lady Ivy, Goodwin reasoned, it followed that Lady Ivy was of his "degree"; and if Lady Ivy, with her bourgeois background and her obvious moral failings, qualified as his equal, it followed that almost any gentlewoman could meet the test. Certainly Mistress Gay was as much his equal as Lady Ivy.

As Goodwin's logic was sapping his doubts and fears, he met a formidable temptation. On the night of Sunday, May 27, Mistress Gay seemed especially attractive and vulnerable. Obviously distressed by the "long squabbling" that had arisen between them, she was willing to take the blame upon herself and to offer an apology for her part in the misunderstandings. Goodwin, touched by the "fresh kindness," was suddenly "inclined to think" that he might try to seduce her. In his final moments of wavering, he prayed for divine guidance, asking the Lord to "order the event as He liked best"; but he did not wait long for an answer, and when neither his inward voice nor Mistress Gay tried to stop him, he proceeded to make love to her.

For several days Goodwin suffered nothing more serious than some internal fears, which he could attribute to Satan. His oral revelations, of which he received five or six, said nothing at all about sex; they dealt almost exclusively with the diving business--advising him to trust Penn, procure a ship, and get ready to go to sea. This silence seemed to betoken assent, as did the knowledge, furnished by his internal voice, that Mistress Gay had conceived in accordance with the usual divine pattern. As for the love affair itself, Goodwin had reason to feel gratified. The first encounter seemed to prove what he had long supposed, and what Cecilia had told him, that she was indeed a virgin. And although she was frightened rather than pleased when she was told, two days later, that she was pregnant, she did not insist upon a

promise of marriage. She seemed willing, in fact, to fend off the marriage that had been proposed for her--thus guarding Goodwin's seed (though he did not tell her so) against possible contamination. As a token of her truth and affection, she gave him a heart-shaped diamond locket containing a lock of her hair, and Goodwin gave her a similar locket in return. Feeling more secure and pleased every day, Goodwin continued to make love to her through the first two weeks of June.

The first sign that all was not well appeared on the night of June 14. Coming in late, Goodwin was cross-examined by Mary, who was full of suspicion and jealousy. For several weeks, beginning long before Goodwin had ventured to lie with Mistress Gay, Cardinal Wolsey had filled Mary's head with doubts; he had warned her that Goodwin's thoughts were running upon handsome women. Mary's suspicions were aggravated by one of her friends, who had somehow learned of Goodwin's frequent visits to Mistress Gay and had passed along the information. To the hearsay that she had collected against him, Mary could now add circumstantial evidence of infidelity. She had noticed his recent custom, inadequately explained, of coming home late, and she had observed the condition of his clothes. One of his shirts which had suffered much from a love encounter seemed particularly damning.

None of Goodwin's explanations satisfied Mary, and the next morning when she returned from church, "in great rage and fury," she told him he was ruined. The devil, she had been told, had been with him daily, and the Lord had become weary

of bearing with him. And since he had ignored repeated warnings that he should have no harlots but only a wife, the Lord now threatened to cease speaking to him and to cut him off in the midst of his sins. Although Goodwin was severely shaken by Mary's report, he still retained a faint glimmering of hope. The angels, after all, were sometimes wrong, and Mary herself was sometimes given to exaggeration when she was carried away by passion. Until he had heard from the Lord himself in oral revelation, there was always the chance of a mistake. He tried to remain calm therefore as he explained to Mary his crucial revelations about "degree" and the principles upon which he had acted. To this explanation, he added a promise that for the future he would tell her plainly everything he did. Then, to protect himself from further error while he waited for the definitive revelation, he went to take at least temporary leave of Mistress Gay. He told her that he was going out of town immediately and that he might not return before she had left for her summer stay in Bath.

For three days, while Mary repeated her charges and threatened to leave him, Goodwin managed to keep his faint hopes alive. About some details, at least, Mary was wrong. Her informants accused him of making love to Mistress Gay more often than he had actually done, and they gave her the notion that he intended to marry the young lady---something he had neither promised nor seriously contemplated; they erred too in recalling the critical revelations on degree, which

he had heard clearly and written down verbatim. The Lord had not mentioned the word wife, and He had certainly not said, as they alleged, that Goodwin should have "but one wife," who should be of his "degree."

On the morning of June 18, however, Goodwin's lingering hopes were shattered by three successive oral revelations. The first declared his liaison a sin and accused him of trying to implicate the Lord in his lewd behavior; it declared further that if he married Mistress Gay he would die a beggar and a cuckold. The second reminded him that Mary had proved "young and faithful and honest" to him and that she had borne him many fine children; it warned him that he would be lost if she left him. The third declared that there had never been, and would never be again, such a woman as Mary. It was amazing, the Lord said, that Goodwin could treat her so shabbily.

Goodwin was too thoroughly stunned to grasp at once all the implications of the Lord's pronouncements, but one fact was immediately clear. He had been misled by Satan in the matter of women. They were not "allowable," as he had mistakenly supposed from the ambiguous promptings of his internal voice. It was also clear that he had misled Sir Thomas Travell, who had taken a mistress in accordance with the false doctrine and was planning to seduce other women. To absolve himself from any further responsibility, Goodwin went immediately to Sir Thomas, explained the error, and revoked all his former instructions. (He was gratified to learn, next day, that Sir Thomas abandoned his mistress

immediately, though she was pregnant and passionately in love with him.)

From the praise of Mary, whom the Lord described as "thy woman," and from the fact that she had been essentially right about his sins, Goodwin could see that he had indeed wronged her and that his basic errors had begun when he had started acting upon his own initiative, without her advice and knowledge. Hereafter, whatever liberty the Lord might allow him, he must submit to her superior wisdom and "do all things plainly and above board." Certainly, as he had already promised, he would meddle with no more women during her lifetime without her explicit consent.

Goodwin hoped that his sincere repentance, his apologies to Mary, and his new instructions to Sir Thomas would induce God to forgive him for his ignorant sins, as He had done before. The next morning, however, a new audible revelation put his entire future in jeopardy. He had left the Lord, the revelation said, and taken a harlot; he had been "prouder" of her than of the Lord. Therefore, God would abandon him to the world and let him become "as other men."

"I do think," the Lord concluded, "I shall come no more in person unto thee."

The blow was devastating. Goodwin had spent his adult life trying not to be as other men, and he preferred being struck dead at once to losing his position as God's favorite son. Falling prostrate on the floor, he begged for any punishment that would expiate his crime, or for death itself

if his sins were unpardonable. And though he did not dare argue against divine justice, he gently reminded the Lord of the promises made to him and the sufferings he had endured. Above all, he prayed for mercy, and he even ventured to cite a few parallel cases where gross but unwitting sins had been forgiven. Whether or not his prayers had been heard he could not tell, but when he arose, after submitting himself entirely to the Lord's judgment, he felt he had one small claim to redemption: He had always tried to do God's will as he understood it. "And after all," he wrote plaintively in his journal, "I think I may truly say there is nothing in the world I would not always have done upon the Lord's certain commands nor anything I would not have undertaken."

But he was soon made to realize that his claim to merit was as nothing when compared to the enormity of his mistake about Mistress Gay, whom the Lord had already declared a harlot. Mary brought word from the archangel Gabriel that the young lady "had been lain with by above twenty men," and the Lord later revealed by articulate voice that only a half hour before she had made love to Goodwin for the first time, she had lain with another man. Goodwin was shocked at Mistress Gay's depravity and at "the abomination of women in general." That a young lady not yet twenty years old could sin so copiously and lie so glibly seemed almost incredible. She had been utterly convincing when she told him that she had resisted the only gentleman who had ever tried to seduce her, and she had feigned virginity so well that she seemed

to lose her maidenhead during their first encounter. It was only now, after her corruption had been revealed, that he could recognize her trickery and see that she was as practiced in deceit as Lady Wharton. Resolutely, therefore, he broke off the connection. On June 20, the day after Gabriel had exposed her numerous love affairs, he cut the string of the locket she had given him and sent it back to her, without explanation, by way of a porter. She returned a note asking to speak with him, but he refused to be tempted. He did not see her again.

Everything now depended, Goodwin saw, upon Mary's intercession with God and the angels. In his degradation he could no longer trust the efficacy of his own prayers, nor could he expect the return of his inward voice, which had become silent during the crisis. (He could not expect God to speak with him internally after refusing to speak with him orally.) Mary, on the other hand, still retained, unsullied, all her vast spiritual powers, as well as the additional merit she had acquired from her undeserved suffering. If she agreed to forgive him and help him, he might yet be saved; if she refused, all was lost.

Mary proved herself magnanimous. When she saw the true depth of his despair and his willingness to abandon Mistress Gay, she ignored her own injuries and went to church three times a day to plead for his reinstatement. The angels themselves were surprised at her devotion. Gabriel asked her how she could take such pains for a man who had shown himself

heartless and who had wished her dead and out of the way; but neither Gabriel's questions nor the occasional fits of rage that shook her when she was reminded of Cecilia Gay could deflect her from her prayers.

She was equally selfless in discussing marriage and the true doctrine of women. She did not intend to monopolize him, she said in effect. Though their irregular marriage had been sanctioned by the Lord, she considered herself his wife only "by the way," and as she had shown in the cases of Queen Penelope, Queen Ursula, and Princess Anne Gartwrott, she would never stand in the way of a rich and legal marriage. She would agree now to his marriage with Lady Ivy whenever the Lord specifically approved it; she would not be unhappy, in fact, to see them in bed together if she could be sure of the Lord's approval. But God would never approve of harlots or adultery, and only in the rarest instances would He approve of sex outside of legal wedlock. The angels had told her that Goodwin was not to lie with any woman without first going through a legal marriage ceremony and that he was not to marry anyone during Mary's lifetime unless he was told to do so "articulately," in an oral revelation.

In the end Mary's prayers turned the balance. They induced Gabriel to pray for Goodwin and together with Gabriel's prayers they persuaded the Lord to speak with Goodwin again. And although the first oral revelations were short and frigid, beginning with "Wharton, Wharton" rather than "My dear son," and although they stressed the depravity of Mistress Gay and

the enormity of Goodwin's sins, they seemed to imply eventual pardon. Finally, on June 27, came the revelation that seemed to restore Goodwin's world. With a last warning that he must never again blame his sins on the Lord, it told him that he had been chosen once more to be the Lord's son.

Saved from a hopeless fate, Goodwin was properly grateful to Mary. He freely acknowledged the accuracy of the Lord's pronouncements. She was truly unique in the world, unparalleled in spiritual knowledge and virtue; and she had indeed proved "young" to him, both in her unmatched fertility and in her manner of making love, which he had found "at no time elsewhere overbalanced or indeed equalled." He could now hope that with her wise guidance and with a "righter method" of procedure he could avoid all snares in the future.

Yet as Goodwin recovered from his close brush with damnation, he sensed that his losses had been frightful. Though his inward voice returned now and then, it had been reduced to something like a vestigial remnant. It was perfectly trustworthy only on the rare occasions when it dealt with Queen Mary Beatrice or when it dealt with impersonal matters like storms at sea. And though in principle its past pronouncements remained valid--except those dealing with seductive women--in practice Goodwin found them almost hopelessly confusing. He could not be sure, for example, whether his landlady at Bath, or Mistress Gay, had actually conceived; he could not be sure about his uncorroborated revelations about the lowlanders, especially those about lowland women; and he could not entirely trust the many pronouncements about Lady Wharton

and the rest of his family. It was virtually impossible, he found, to sort out a year's accumulation of truths, half-truths, and untruths and systematically distinguish between the word of God and the words of Satan. It was easier to retain as valid those revelations that were not flatly contradicted by the angels or the Lord's voice and to wait for time to confirm or cancel them. By this method, he was able to salvage most of his cherished revelations about the King and Queen, but even these were threatened by the blight that seemed to infect the rest.

Goodwin had also lost the gift for retaining visions and dreams. During the days when he had spoken almost constantly with the Lord, visions had been unnecessary, and the few that he had retained seemed more curious and ornamental than vital--nothing like the rich and stirring revelations of 1686. Now that he again needed visions they came seldom and on comparatively trivial subjects, like the moral health of deep-sea divers. Perhaps if he had been given time--if he had been able to lie long hours day after day in anticipation of dreams--he could have recovered his lost ability; but he was busy now with Lady Ivy, politicians, diving equipment, and ships. In the intervals at his disposal, he failed whenever he deliberately attempted to lie for a vision, and he soon abandoned the method entirely.

Along with his inner voice and his visions, Goodwin had lost his bouyant feelings of confidence and control. As the disasters of June followed the disasters of February, practically

nothing remained of the mood that had carried him through the drama of Bath and the triumphant return to London. Where he had once lived in a world of moment-to-moment excitement with constant expectation that something glorious was about to happen, he now waited almost passively to be instructed in his duties. Where he had once stood beside Mary Beatrice at the Cross Bath or journeyed to Lamb's Conduit Fields to fight King James, he now waited for William Penn to intercede for him. Where he had once talked to God anywhere, he now sat in his bed, with the curtains drawn, and waited for oral revelations that often failed to occur on schedule and that were seldom more than half intelligible.

Meanwhile, Mary had suffered losses of her own. Although her virtue and knowledge had been triumphantly re-established, she could not breathe easily. She knew only too well that Goodwin had been willing to get along without her and that she had come perilously close to losing him to a nineteen-year-old rival. And as she digested these unwelcome truths, she realized too that her own failures had grown more and more conspicuous. For the grandiose projects of 1688, she had absolutely nothing to show. In March she had been obliged to announce that King James would not employ her as his chemical physician, and after Easter, April 15, she was forced to concede that the Cardinal had been unable to steal the rest of the lowland treasures. These failures, of course, were readily explicable, since they depended upon the whims of an unteachable King and a faithless Cardinal, but there was

another failure less explicable and more dangerous. Goodwin had not yet seen either of the two sons that had survived childbirth and infancy. Peregrine, born May 17, 1684, was now four years old and Heseekiah, born March 10, 1687, was one. The subject of Goodwin's children had necessarily come up again during the bitter argument about Mistress Gay. The Lord, in fact, had stressed Mary's "fine children" as a reason why Goodwin should keep her. And though Goodwin did not ask again why he should not go to Shireburn or Windsor and see the sons for whose support he contributed regular payments, the matter was nevertheless delicate. There might come a day when the usual explanations, never impeccable, would no longer serve. In any case, Mary knew, her recently shaken position would be immeasurably strengthened if Goodwin could actually see one of his sons.

While the world of the partners was being revolutionized, Goodwin continued to pursue the one hope that remained relatively undamaged amid the general wreckage; he made himself ready to go to sea whenever William Penn could get the King's authorization for a diving expedition. In late May and early June, before the explosion caused by his sins, he had received some help from the angels in devising underwater breathing apparatus; and on June 8, with the financial aid of Lady Ivy and Sir Thomas Travell, he had bought a small ship capable of transporting himself, Sir Thomas, three divers, and a collection of diving gear to the Isle of Jersey. During the worst of the crisis in mid-June, he kept up his visits

to Lady Ivy to make sure that the new syndicate would not dissolve, and he visited William Penn as often as he decently could without seeming importunate. Though impatient, he knew that Penn held the keys to success and he recognized the validity of Penn's excuses for not pressing his case before the King. King James was going through a crisis of his own-- a crisis that involved the political fate of the nation. Finding the proper time to introduce a private petition from a former enemy was a matter that required much tact and caution. At the very least it involved finding a lull in the storm that had been swirling about the King's ears since late May.

King James had begun his suicidal blunders on April 27, when he reissued, and re-proclaimed, his celebrated Declaration of Indulgence. To the original text, which suspended all parliamentary laws designed for the protection of the Church of England, he now added an ominous commentary. He was confident, he said in effect, that he could procure a parliament that would ratify his actions and make the changes permanent. He had been busy, he pointed out, removing civil and military officers who would not help in forwarding his designs for the public welfare. Finally, in a not-too-subtle hint that no resistance was possible, he reminded the nation that the army and the fleet were in good condition, that they would be maintained at full strength, and that they could be augmented if necessary.

Most of the King's subjects received the new proclamation

in sullen silence. They scarcely needed to be told that James had not changed his mind about anything--that he intended to pack a parliament; that he was conducting a purge of government officials from lord lieutenants down to customs collectors; and that his army could crush any uprising. They regarded his commentary, in fact, as a thumb-nail summary of his sins--of his tactics for achieving arbitrary power. Resentful but powerless, they simply waited to see what he would do next.

What James did next was to command the Anglican clergy to read his Declaration in church. On May 4, he issued an order directing that on May 20 and May 27 his "Gracious Declaration" must be read "at the usual time of Divine Service" in all the churches and chapels in London and Westminster, and that on June 3 and June 10 it was to be read "in all other Churches and Chapels throughout this Kingdom." He further ordered "That the Right Reverend the Bishops, cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective Diocese to be read accordingly."

And then the fat was in the fire. Almost to a man, the Anglican clergy looked upon the King's Declaration as arbitrary and illegal; and they saw the Declaration, regardless of its legality, as a powerful attack upon the Church of England. Now they were being ordered to become the King's accomplices in wounding the church and subverting constitutional government; they were being asked to commit political suicide in public. In a pungent phrase, popularly attributed to Father Petre, they were being commanded to eat excrement.

The King and his Council had two good reasons for supposing that the clergy would submit quietly. For many years, before James had begun using the royal authority against them, Anglican clergymen had preached the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience; in the days of their prosperity, they had been fervent supporters of the crown and they had seldom found reason to question the powers of the royal prerogative. That they should now disobey a direct order from their sovereign seemed unlikely--at least to James and his ministers. And there was another compelling motive for submission. The King and his Ecclesiastical Commission had the power to suspend or dismiss any clergyman who refused to obey; they could deprive any churchman, from curate to bishop, of his living. And they had already shown in the suspension of Bishop Compton and in the Magdalen College affair that they meant business. That any significant number of Anglican clergymen would risk poverty seemed to James improbable.

But the King and his advisors turned out to be disastrously wrong. The Anglican bishops and their subordinates refused to submit. On the evening of May 18, two days before the Declaration was supposed to be read, seven bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft, drew up a petition for presentation to the King. They began their petition by protesting their loyalty to the King and asserting their willingness to grant liberty of conscience to Dissenters, but they ended it by denying the legality of the dispensing power and by refusing to distribute a Declaration which contravened the laws of parliament. They

could not, they said, "in prudence, Conscience, or Honor" make themselves "parties" to such an action.

As soon as the petition was drawn up it was delivered by six of the bishops to King James in person. The King, who expected at worst a mild formal protest, was shocked and enraged when he saw that the bishops not only refused to obey his order but called his prerogative powers into question. Sensing at once that the charge of illegality struck at the heart of his policy, and all the more angry because the charge was true, he accused the bishops of raising "a standard of rebellion." He would keep their seditious paper, he said in effect, and if they failed to obey his orders they would answer for their treasonable presumption.

The swirl of events that followed enraged the King still further. Shortly after he dismissed the bishops from his presence, printed copies of their petition began appearing on the streets of London, and within twenty-four hours half the population of England knew that the bishops had resolved to disobey the King. And on Sunday morning, May 20, the day scheduled for the reading of the Declaration, the power of their opposition was overwhelmingly demonstrated. Only four or five among the dozens of Anglican divines in the London area read the King's Declaration; even the minister of the royal chapel at St. James's palace defied the royal order. The bishops, solidly backed by their clergy and enthusiastically supported by the London populace, had dealt the King a stunning defeat.

For a week the frustrated King and his Council debated strategy for punishing the offenders; finally, on May 27 (the day, coincidentally, on which Goodwin first seduced Mistress Gay) they issued warrants requiring the bishops to appear before them to answer criminal charges. On the advice of Lord Jeffreys, who had loaded the court with compliant judges, James planned to proceed legally. The bishops were to be charged with "Contriving, Making, and Publishing a Seditious Libel against His Majesty and His Government"; they were to be tried at the Court of the King's Bench, where handpicked judges could be counted upon to direct a verdict for the Crown and where the legality of the dispensing power, challenged by the bishops, could be strongly reasserted.

When the bishops appeared before the King and his Council, on June 8, they maneuvered James and Jeffreys into an irretrievable mistake. After being duly interrogated, charged with seditious libel, and ordered to appear at the King's Bench, they absolutely refused to give bail. Advised by some of the shrewdest lawyers in the kingdom, they maintained that as peers of parliament they could not be required to find sureties for their appearance on a charge of libel; at most they would give their word of honor. Suddenly the King found himself trapped in the law, which prescribed either bail or prison for any criminal cited to appear before the King's Bench. In an evil hour for himself, James issued a warrant committing the seven bishops to the Tower. As the royal barge with its seven distinguished prisoners made its way down the Thames from Whitehall to Traitor's Gate, the

multitudes who watched it were given an unforgettable symbol of royal tyranny. James had created seven Anglican martyrs.

While King James was goading his subjects towards revolution, the Queen was preparing to deliver a child. In late May she announced that she had chosen St. James's palace for her lying in and she ordered her apartments there prepared for the event. Mary Beatrice herself dated her pregnancy from October 6, 1687, the night she returned to Windsor from Bath, and she expected to be delivered in early July; but it was possible, she said, that she had become pregnant on September 6, the night the King returned to Bath from his tour of the Western provinces. In any case, she would go to St. James's when the time drew near.

As it happened, the Queen's time came when Goodwin, who knew that the alleged pregnancy with its alleged dates was fraudulent, was walking through St. James's Park. On the afternoon of Saturday, June 9, the day after James had sent the bishops to the Tower, Goodwin was returning through the Park from an unproductive interview with William Penn when he observed, at some distance, that the King was coming toward him. Unprepared for another dramatic encounter with James, he "passed slightly [slightingly] by a good way from him." A little farther on, however, he saw a sight that stopped him: Mary Beatrice was being carried in a sedan chair from Whitehall to St. James's. Goodwin had not seen the Queen at close range since that final day at the Cross Bath when after standing elbow to elbow with him she had pretended to ignore him and

Scanned text incomplete.

Missing pages after p. 58 are unavailable, per HSS division staff / skj 08-03-2009